Is Herskovits A Herskovits E-4 (1928-1929) 1934
583 Bush Negroes 583
Saramacca

Soon our men, too, began to stir, and, as we came out of our hammocks, Bayo and Angita entered the clearing. They were just now returning from the dance at Pa'aba.

"*A-yo, a baya kobi*'—Yes, they danced hard," Bayo told us. "Obia came strong."

With Angita was a man we had not seen before, holding a small child by the hand.

"This is Awingu, my brother-in-law," said Angita in explanation. "His eyes trouble him. I brought him to you for medicine."

After the exchange of courtesies demanded by the visit, we turned to the child.

"Is this your child, Awingu?" we asked.

His answer came promptly. "No, he is not my child. He is my wife's child. I made him."

Here was a fine distinction. He made him, but the child was not his.

Just then our cook came up with a small present for the child, but, since he would not take it from his hands or ours, Angita gave it to him.

"Thank you, father," he said to Angita.

Angita looked down affectionately at the youngster. "Two, three years more, Awingu, and he will be ready to go and live with his father at Gaukwe. Do you remember your father at Gaukwe? It was he who showed you how to make a gun from a reed. And you made it well. . . ."

There appeared, then, to be yet another father, for it was clear that Angita was not speaking of himself when he referred to the Gaukwe father who had shown the child how to make a play gun.

All this, in itself, however confusing to a visitor, is by no means an unusual phenomenon. Different peoples have their own sanctions for establishing kinship and their own designations for relationships. In the city we had been told many tales of the manner of life of these Negroes of the bush. And the "matriarchate," as the custom of counting descent through the mother was termed, had often come up when these people were being discussed.

Herskovits & Herskovits 2-4 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

"Among them only the mothers count, because among savages, who can tell who the real father is? That is why a child calls many men 'father,'" we had heard variously explained and elaborated.

Yet here was a man who said without hesitation, "No, he is not my child. He is my wife's child. I made him." And the very next instant the child called Angita father, and Angita referred to still another man as the father who would in a few years take the child with him to live and train him for manhood.

Any number of questions came to our minds, but at daybreak a stranger coming to the planting ground of a village not his own is the least willing of talkers.

"This is not your child, Awingu," we took the occasion to remark when we were saying goodbye, "yet he seems to like you very much."

"*Ma, tyu! Ma Neng'e!*—Mother of all Negroes! What would you have? I am his father!"

The man showed by his amused expression that this was a story to carry back to his village. Only the politeness due a stranger kept Awingu and Angita from laughing aloud at this strange question. But Awingu was a thoughtful fellow. "Tell me," he said, after a while, "in your white man's country, don't children care for their fathers?"

2

But there were not only multiple fathers, as the story told in the city ran. The matter was not disposed of so simply as that. In point of fact, each person seemed to have several mothers as well. Take the case of Angita himself, whose brother-in-law we met at dawn in the provision ground. Angita was first pointed out to us by Tita, who, behind her back, was called Mother Snake. It was at Gankwe when we came to see the dancing for the dead Zimbi.

"Look," she had said, as she indicated one of the principal dancers who wore seed rattles at his ankles. "This is

M. Herskovits & Herskovits E-4 (1928-1929) 1934
602 Bush Negroes 602
Saramacca

Angita. He dances well. He is my son." And she had showed her pleasure at our appreciation of his excellent dancing. 602.●

The following day Angita came to our camp, bringing with him Kutai, a woman of about Tita's age. He left to go farther upstream for a time, but she remained with us and sat and talked with the others who were standing about, as they discussed the wood carvings we were in the act of buying.

"Have you seen Angita's carvings?" she asked us. "He is one of the best young carvers at Gankwe. When he is older, he will be one of the best on the Saramacca."

An old man standing by said drily, "Chicken says, 'You can lie about an egg, but you can't lie about a chicken.'"

"That's right," commented another. "We know Angita's carving. It is good, but. . . ."

But Kutai would not be contradicted. She interrupted the speaker with a gesture. "I am his mother, and a mother knows her son. You can say what you like."

About the fifth day after we had started up the river for the country of the Granman, we came to a village where Angita stopped to supplement his food for the journey. When he returned, his arms were filled with the large cassava cakes. Behind him came a young girl with a bottle of palm oil, and some rice in an open calabash, and she was followed by the people of the village who came to see the Bakra. A woman of middle age, whom both the young girl and Angita resembled, took the rice from the girl and, wading into the shallow water, came up to our boat and gave it to us. "This is rice for you. I am Angita's mother. Angita is strong. You will walk well with him."

Later that day, when our boat found itself abreast of the dugout which Angita was poling, we lost no time in questioning him.

"Angita," we called, "is the woman who gave us the rice your mother?"

He nodded.

"But what of Tita, who said she was your mother, too?"

Herskovits & Herskovits B-8 (1933-1939) 1934
Bush Negroes
Jamaica

602 He was a quick-witted lad, and he saw at once what we had in mind. He said with a laugh, "You are asking about my true, true mother, the one who made me? It is not this one, and it is not Tita, who made me. It is Kutai."

"But who are the other two?"

"They are her sisters."

3

593 Yet the family life of the Bush Negro does not differ in any essential respect from that of any other group of individuals, who, related by close ties of blood, live their lives together. Men and women marry and beget children, and their children in turn marry and beget others. In reality, but for the fact that a man or a woman claimed more than one father and mother, and a great number of brothers and sisters, of uncles and aunts, there was little to indicate the existence of conventions of family life which differed radically from those we ourselves know.

None the less, there were differences, and, once we were permitted to see beneath the surface, a slight incident here, another hint there, threw into relief the life of these people, and their own attitudes toward their actual and spiritual relationships.

Let us take the instance of Misomba and his son. Misomba was a man of middle age, and the incident we tell occurred as we were sitting in his house in a village above the Mamadam. He was speaking of the wood he had cut and of his plans to take it to the city to sell. With him in the house were his wife and a young lad, perhaps fifteen or sixteen years old, and, besides ourselves, our paddler Kasanya, who was Misomba's wife's elder brother.

"I need someone to take the rafts down the river. There are none in my family who are free, and I need help. But Adyaba here," he said, indicating his son, "knows about taking down rafts, and it will be good for him to learn more of the river leading to the white man's city. I am glad you came, brother-in-law. Now I can ask you if he may go with me. Is it your wish that he go?"

Herskovits & Herskovits R-8 (1928-1929) 1936
Bush Negroes
Surinam

968
975 "If it is the man who is d[ead], then the woman takes her girl children to live with her; but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spir[it] will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his s[ons], he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the s[ons] that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will prote[ct] her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she v[isits] the place where she once lived."

5

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own [blood groups. The child is of her] wara, or household. He bel[ongs to her *mbe*, or great family, which is an aggregate of m[any households. He is a member] of her *la*, or clan, which is [composed of a number of great] families, and which holds [political sway over a given] portion of the land. The tie [of all these groupings is a blood] 613 tie, a common female anc[estress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters [of the same mother, who had] been the first to live with th[runaway ancestors here in the] bush, or several women [who came from one people in] Africa, and were the first to [bear children to the rebels in the] jungle. Every legal, every [economic implication which this] tradition of descent and inh[eritance through the female line] might hold, is faithfully ad[hered to.

611 The mother does indeed [count, as the tales told us in the] 513 city insisted. But what of t[e father?

That the Bush Negro u[nderstands fully the rôle that] 842 both father and mother [play in the procreation of the] 532 young was everywhere app[arent. The wood carving which] a father made for his youn[g daughter had designs on it of] the kind which bore the [general designation "*wowi ku*" ways—man and woman." [Whatever the traceries on the] carvings given by a man [to his woman during courtship,] or after marriage, whatev[er animals might be represented,] the essential symbolism [was that of fertility, and the

M. Herskovits & Herskovits B-5 (1929-1932) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog.

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash."

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation.

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1959) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

But when one man shares a tchina with another it does not mean that they only share prohibitions. There are privileges as well. There is the right to lift a *kandu*, for example.

The outsider among the Bush Negro people cannot go long without learning of kandu. Many times we had noticed a small bundle of twigs hanging from a nail over a doorway of an uninhabited hut, or had remarked a small strip of colored cloth and a feather or two knotted together and swinging from an orange tree, or a calabash filled with hardened sacred clay, suspended from a limb where a creek entered the river. When we asked about them, we learned that each was a kandu, a spiritual lock, which by the potency of the magic put into it by the maker protected the house, or the tree, or the fishing creek—whatever we happened to be discussing at the moment—from thieves. It was a guard which no man dared violate.

Bayo had made one for us early in our visit to the Suriname bush.

"I will make you something to keep away thieves. I will make you a kandu."

He had asked us for a needle, and from wood of a special kind which is used only in kandu he fashioned the representation of a human head. Some native fiber and two kinds of sacred grass held the needle and the carved image together. This he covered with white clay, the sacred pemba, and the red coloring of the kuswe plant, which is also sacred. When he had spoken his invocations, and dipped the kandu in the river to purify it, he brought it to us.

"Put it where you keep your money. I have put strong magic into it. Your possessions will be safe. Anyone who opens the chest and sees this, will not touch what is inside. . . . But do not eat out of a cooking pot. It will lose its power. I have given it my own tchina."

But it seemed that a kandu did not always remain inviolate.

"It would not be good," Bayo explained, "if a man went away and left a kandu over the house, and no one but he

31 Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control.

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river."

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats.

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gemi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a kruta, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner.

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the kruth over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiya, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M.... their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3 (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Bulia brother, Afanin uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word [illegible] (1).

[See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/31 cont./

602 613 614 191

1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 602 613 614 209 571

/32/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the founders, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 613 614

Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélé I-Dipélé II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélé II, Assié);

—With the group of Assié's descendants (Lapé, Bonoville).

[198] In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[641] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

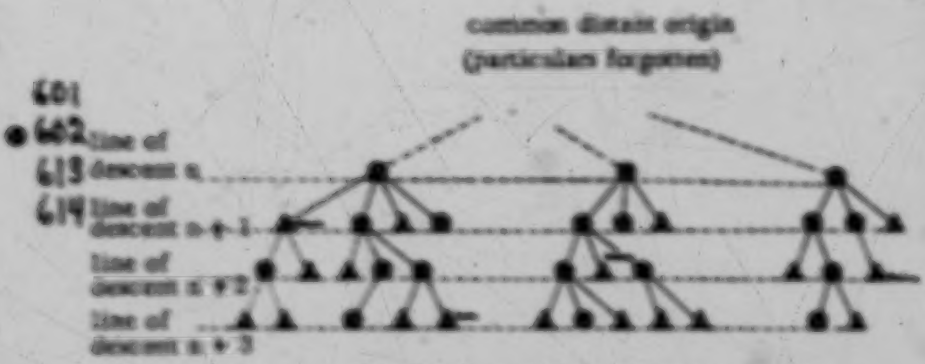

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

613 1. Note that a Dikan to exists among the
184 Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka
174 and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1792, which shows the anciennness of these groups.

621 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some
613 of their members /22/ to the grand man to conserve a certain im-
571 portance for his village. Thus Agodé (Benoville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipéla, Lapé, Dja, and Papaïton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/25 cont./

Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same taboo.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes, on this point.

In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imota, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Nzoroi estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

Study of this group shows that the fragmenting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

The Layé (Le Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[Sec 9 34, Category BC -- Analyst]

613 P28 cont./
[201] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
671 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides at Kourmontibo. Part of the group settled in Antsi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
• 612 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Antsi, leaving in Kourmontibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group draws as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "mothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. P26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kourmontibo. The process
591 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Coevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the tp, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

601 /31 cont./
613

Baala. (brother)	brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense. Persons
Sina. (sister)	separated from the foundress by the same number of generations.
Tiya. tiya. (uncle, aunt)	persons nearer to the foundress by one generation.
Gaita. gaima (grandfather, grandmother)	persons nearer to the foundress by two generations.
Ava (great-grandmother)	women nearer to the foundress by three generations.
Sina pisia (nephews)	persons farther from the foundress by one generation.

/32/ In a general fashion, a man situated on line n calls uncles and aunts all those situated on line n-1 and nephews all who are on line n+1.

601 Example (see genealogical table of the Dju Ioi): Fintiman
602 (F7) considers Alibi (F23) (his relative in the 9th degree) as his
603 aunt, for the same reason as Wima (F3), sister of his mother. Likewise, he considers Soumman (E14), as well as Atikati (E18), as his uncle, although Soumman is 10 years younger than he. He assumes that Soumman can to a certain extent give him advice and that his opinion is preponderant over his own.

He considers Adiiwo (F37), his relative in the 10th degree, as his brother for the same reason as Kikimanti, his brother proper. Paana (G2), Kawuna (G48) as well as Soukafu (G42) are his nephews and nieces, sina pisia.

At one generation more, he says "my grandchildren."

/32 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
[163] grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage: they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the bedemI, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

• 682 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/32 cont./

602 784 784 428 [753] to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

[262] [578] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[189] – That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] – That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples: because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

– People of the same generation, the expression ba So-and-so... (man) / a So-and-so (woman)

– – of one generation above, the expression tiyu, uncle / tiya, aunt

– – of two generations above, the expression papa / mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asabunda (Lapé io) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Béniti (Dju io, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Anti by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or sa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses masa So-and-so (masa = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very 551 disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their 648 European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

Pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

May — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

Soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X Enga mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

/42 cont./

601 128 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y...., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 814 829 In many African populations a special tradition is connected with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name, the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

193 [126] On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In [814] 1962 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 602 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 613 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

Linguaut--147 K-5 (1948-1956) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 588 Boni

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423 /102 cont./ meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

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423 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is the case, for example, with the ones of the Assonu and Adiso habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

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592 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought together by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."

/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

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592 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiso has no right at all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

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622 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought together more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the minimum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

6:Hurault--157 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 598 Bush Negroes 583 Boni

/108 cont./

Structure of the Adiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiso's wife, of the Awara-Bokka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiso (Dju. F37);

--Her daughter Chitalna (Aw.B.1. F43), married to Dédsi (Li. F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Malna, married.

Malna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiso, who cut a 3rd in Asus for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Malna, Adiso being on a trip
Chitalna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission	1 clearing cut by her husband Dédsi /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/		
Malna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Malna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitalna and Irma

/121 cont./

843 [829] Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy, for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 989 Forecasting of the birth. Divinatory rituals are carried out from the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

844 [989] When the time for delivery arrives, concern is centered on the danger of maleficent human entities, Ogi sani, which try to become incarnate in the child. The woman is shut up in the house, all of its exits are blocked off, and Obiaman are called to perform rites of protection all around the house. If [845] delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

The Obiaman are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies. Only in serious cases are men 846 allowed to enter the house. As a general rule, during the first • 602 eight days only women related to the mother may enter. (Care is even taken as far as possible to get as midwife (mena) an old woman related to the mother.)

6:Hurault--160 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 585 Bush Negroes 588 Boni

/129 cont./

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The conditions under which children are brought up throw a strong light on the thought of the Refugee Blacks relative to kinship and are worth a special study.

[125] In the course of an investigation carried on from October to December, 1957, we were able to record with precision under what conditions had been raised 311 persons distributed thus:

Male sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	73
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process) (1)	88
Female sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	72
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process)	78
	Total	311

1. Study of the case of children born after 1949 was of no interest because the definite assignment of their guardianship was not yet made at the end of the year 1957.

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Raised by:	Male Sex			Female Sex		
	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average
Mother	together 10%	42%	26%	together 69%	50%	68.5%
Maternal grandmother		13%			12%	
A woman of the maternal lineage . . .	8%	22%	10%	13%	13%	14%
A man of the maternal lineage . . .	3%	4%	6.5%	2%	3%	2.5%
Father	27%	18%	22.5%	13%	6%	9.5%
Father's mother . . .	2%	3%	2.5%	0%	3%	1.5%
A person of the paternal lineage . .	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	2%
An outsider to both lineages	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

Gibbons--189 K-S (1918-1969) 1961 SBB Binh Nguyen SBB
Bind

Orleans--1961 K-8 (1948-1961) 1961 560 Both Negroes 560 Boys

/XX/

Ranked

Table I.- Men born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	Others of the Mother's Lineage	Others of the Mother's Collateral Lines	Father	Father Mother	Others of the Father's Lineage	Others in both Lineages
429	III			II			
602	60 / 75 = 80%	7 / 75 = 9%	0 / 75 = 0%	60 / 75 = 80%	0 / 75 = 0%	1 / 75 = 1%	0 / 75 = 0%
613							

together 80%(2)

Table II. -Boys born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

III			III		II	II	III
60 / 75 = 80%	60 / 75 = 80%	6 / 75 = 8%	3 / 75 = 4%	60 / 75 = 80%	0 / 75 = 0%	0 / 75 = 0%	0 / 75 = 0%

Table III. - Women born before 1936

I			II			I	I
60 / 75 = 80%	0 / 75 = 0%	60 / 75 = 80%	3 / 75 = 4%	60 / 75 = 80%	0	1 / 75 = 1%	1 / 75 = 1%

together 89%(2)

Table IV. - Girls born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

			II		II	II	II
60 / 75 = 80%	0 / 75 = 0%	11 / 75 = 15%	0 / 75 = 0%	4 / 75 = 5%	60 / 75 = 80%	60 / 75 = 80%	0 / 75 = 0%

(1) The symbol represents individuals who, raised outside their lineage, did not come back to when their education was finished.

(591) (2) Since the mother and grandmother live together most often, in formants may confuse them with it is a question of persons whose education has been finished for long time.

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584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in A[illegible]wara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitalina's mother; A[illegible]mis (Aw.B.1. E60), actual uncle; Anapou (Aw.B.1. E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Nama (Aw.B.1. E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tama took the floor, unfolding Dédé's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared acceptance. Chitalina having fled according to custom, he took her young sister Basemi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tama, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitalina's older brother, by the hand and led him to Tama, saying, "I give thee this man."

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[569] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /kaw/ household.

The rest of tafia brought by Dédé was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 [595] Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju. F6, Bonaville village).

For his first wife Mimi (K3. E156, Bonaville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Kélémeni and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébéman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Maiobi (Dip. I. E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Bénité, and of his uncle Diolé (Dju. E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

Gilbreath--213 K-5 (1948-1950) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes: SRS
Boni

/144 cont./

To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw. B. I, 141, Asini-Awara Bobbo vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, 84, Bonaville), his father Makabi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother: Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonio and Mato.

Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before about 30 [illegible] of age, continuing until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, i.e. between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more. This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 18 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/175 cont./

965 613 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ slavery.

[969] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

965 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great misère;

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an ɛbɔkɔ or kisimã.

965 602 613 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw.B.1) was married to Tundu (L2. G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2. E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister [968] Térésa, living in Bonaville. Since he had not yet built a hut for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu.

[Text Continues on P. 269]

Schwarz--288 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes Sra Boni

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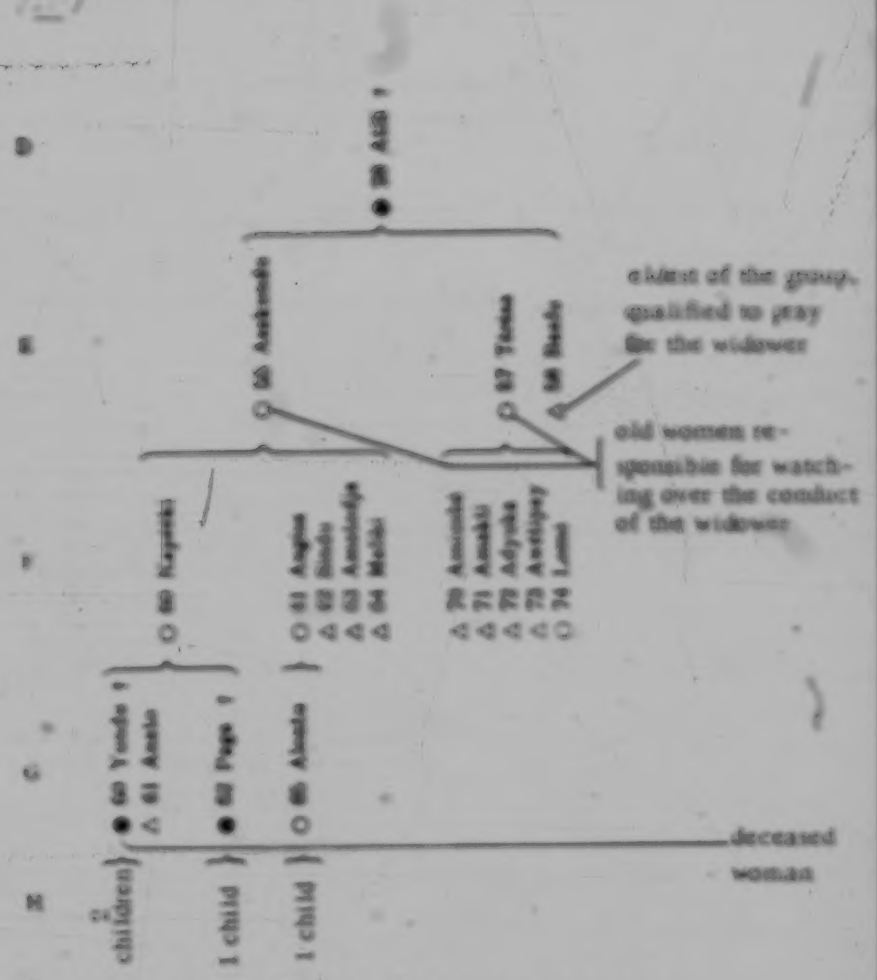


Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yundu's death.

Gutzwiller--269 K-6 (.965-1956) 1961 588 Bushr Negroes 968 Boni

/177 cont./

965 602 613 If he was sick, it was △ Baafu (L2. E58), the eldest of the group, who was to pray for him. Aléminu had nothing to do with the head of the Lapé lineage nor with his wife's classificatory uncles of the Lapé 1 group.

As for Diamanti (Aw.B.2. E56, † in 1955), her husband Bushi (K3. E133) spent the mourning in the house that Diamanti had had constructed for her by a former husband. It was ○Emma, Diamanti's mother, and Sanéu, Emma's younger sister, who kept him under watch, under the responsibility of △Asodo, the dead woman's brother (all the actual uncles being dead). Boni had nothing to do with either the classificatory uncles nor the head of the Awara Baka lineage.

When Atuku (Aw.B.1. D20) died (1956), her husband Nétali was put under the authority of Kondoku, Atuku's brother, all the uncles in both the real and the classificatory sense being dead.

965 [79] The submission that this mourning entails must not be considered as symbolic. It bears down on the surviving spouse with an intolerable weight which can be borne only because of the conviction that it is the sole means of protection against the dead person's jealousy. Not only does the widower (or widow) do nothing to free himself from it, but at the least indisposition he will add, of his own accord, to the harshness of his state.

965 613 The widower can no longer use his clothes and personal utensils; he keeps /178/ his hammock and gun. All the rest, clothing (appropriated for the mourning), various utensils, is furnished him by the dead woman's lineage. Each woman of this lineage must give him a little of what she prepares. He himself must not ask for anything.

/179 cont./

965 431 [204] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother.

965 844 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Beni.

965 858 [968 802] There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Limiki (70 years), living in Benneville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /181/ where he had been raised by his father). Limiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamara, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her.

965 768 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

965 [975] [968] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yoka. However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dili baaka has ended,

965 833 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask per-

[613] mission of the head of the dead woman's lineage.

/187 cont./

Since there is no spouse in mourning (Mimi had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony skips them.

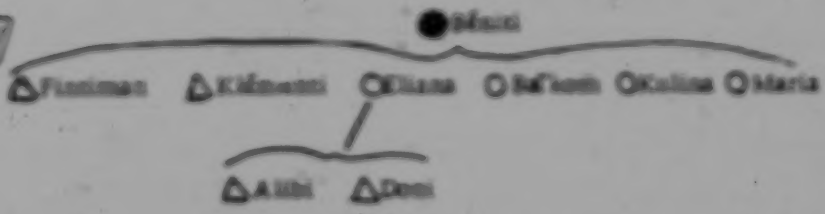
Then these present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Mimi's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kelina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Mimi. Division of expenditures. Mimi belonged to the fraction of the Dya lineage settled in Benoville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Mimi left two sons and two adult grandsons:



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

/188 cont./

428 In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance
[613] must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bee) and his children.

/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in
789 front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same
964 divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the Unti kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the
965 dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was

428 concerned. After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is
602 made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

6:Hurault--290 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SP8 Buch Negroes SR8
Boni

/189 cont./

428 Example: When △ Atikati (Dju, E18) died in 1953, about 75 years old, his house went to his sister Adyidya (E19), his gun to Kéwénu (G10), his boat to his classificatory sister Aliki (E23), aged 85.

602 Upon the lifting of mourning for Atikati, it was Aliki, by reason of being the eldest of the surviving classificatory sisters, who distributed his personal belonging: and his money; for example, an iron bracelet went to Sosoman (E14) (1).

1. See the genealogical table of the Dju lineage.

428 613 602 By seeing the division of this inheritance on the genealogical table, one realizes that classificatory kinship is not a useless word and that in fact, within the matrilineage (bes), the division is made strictly at random, without consideration of sex, age, or proximity of kinship, which is strictly normal, given the divinatory procedure used.

428 776 602 An analogous conclusion comes out of the study of the inheritance of gods; the Papa gadu god of the ancestress ○ Sapiké (D5) passed into Pamasa (E26), her kin in the seventh degree. Likewise the god Ampubu of △ Agoabuchi, passing from a man to a woman, went /190/ to Labasa (G45), his kin in the tenth degree at least (Agoabuchi could not be placed with certainty on the genealogical table). The Kumẽntu god of △ Antinoo (D8) went to Achiké (F13).

428 Study of the inheritance of houses leads to analogous conclusions.

The only case where a certain systematization is seen to appear is that of inheriting from women having adult children. It seems (but this is not a legal principle) that these children receive the essential part of the inheritance.

/204 cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bunsuŋki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[784] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[782] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/223 cont./

784 613 428 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 613 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) [602] struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957. [782] Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The [361] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 784 613 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

[428] In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

[782] In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same; the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm [769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble [778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this [787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka [782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/229 cont./

784 613 [428] [571] [602] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The [611] [829] Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how [672] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the lanti kuutu condemned the members of